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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

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SUBJ: FRANCOIS MITTERAND VISIT

REF: LISBON 2742 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: MITTERAND VISIT'S ANNOUNCED PURPOSE WAS ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTACTS WITH SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS AND LENDING OF HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE TO SOCIALIST EFFORT AT GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT. THIS MISSION WAS ACCOMPLISHED. WHILE OTHER ELEMENTS OF PORTUGUESE LEFT ALSO SOUGHT TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH MITTERAND VISIT, SOCIALISTS SUCCEEDED IN DISPLAYING MITTERAND AS "ONE OF THEIR OWN". END SUMMARY.

1. MITTERAND ARRIVED JULY 2, BEING MET AT LISBON AIRPORT BY BROAD RANGE OF DIGNITARIES. PRESS HIGHLIGHTED PRESENCE OF ALL TOP PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) OFFICIALS. DURING ENSUING PRESS CONFERENCE MITTERAND WAS ASKED IF FRENCH ELECTORAL EXPERIENCE (COMMON PROGRAM OF THE LEFT) COULD BE APPLICABLE IN CASE OF PORTUGAL. MITTERAND RESPONSE WAS TO NOTE THAT VICTORY OVER REACTIONARY AND FASCIST FORCES NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT AN ALLIANCE OF THE LEFT, BUT THAT HE WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY WELL-INFORMED TO MAKE COMPARISON. IN ANY CASE, IT WAS FOR THE PSP TO DETERMINE THE EXACT SORT OF ARRANGEMENTS CALLED FOR BY CURRENT SITUATION.

2. FIRST DAY'S HIGHLIGHT WAS TAPING OF ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION, IN WHICH MITTERAND AND GASTON DEFERRE JOINED BY SOARES, CARLOS BRITA (COMMUNIST PARTY), MANUEL ALEGRIA PARTIDO POPULAR DEMOCRATICO--THE "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS"), AND JOAQUIM MESTRE (MOVEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT). DISCUSSION DOMINATED BY SUBJECT OF FRENCH LEFT'S COMMON PROGRAM. MITTERAND EXPLAINED THAT PROGRAM WAS A RESULT OF YEARS OF EFFORT, YEARS IN WHICH FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS HAD HAD MANY DIFFERENCES. FOR PURPOSE OF PSP, HIS KEY PHRASE WAS: "THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE WITH THE COMMON PROGRAM CANNOT BE APPLIED UNIVERSALLY". HE STRESSED INSTEAD THE NEED FOR LEFTIST UNITY IN FACING FORCES OF REACTION, SOARES ECHOED SAME THEMES IN HIS COMMENTS, POINTING OUT THAT CURRENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH "POPULAR FRONTS", BUT RATHER WITH A BROADER COALITION OF FORCES INVOLVING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MORE THAN JUST LEFTIST PORTION OF POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

3. SECOND DAY INCLUDED COURTESY CALLS ON PRIME MINISTER PALMA CARLOS AND PRESIDENT SPINOLA, PLUS ENCOUNTER WITH PRESS AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY INFORMATION MINISTER RAUL REGO. DAY CAPPED BY SOCIALIST MASS RALLY IN OPORTO, WITH CROWD ESTIMATED AT 20,000. SOARES DESCRIBED AID GIVEN PORTUGAL

BY FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY, ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (FRELIMO AND PAIGC). SOARES USED OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS SEVERAL MAJOR THEMES:

A. PORTUGAL DOES NOT NOW HAVE A COMMON PROGRAM OF THE LEFT, BUT THIS HAS TO COME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING MATTERS THAT UNITE AND SEPARATE FORCES ON LEFT; WHAT IS IMPORTANT NOW IS TO MAINTAIN A BROAD COALITION, INCLUDING THE CENTER-RIGHT AND CONSERVATIVES, IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY.

B. PORTUGUESE PEOPLE ARE MORE THAN JUST WORKERS; THE MIDDLE CLASS, SMALL ENTERPRISES, SMALL RURAL LANDHOLDERS, THE ARMED FORCES -- ALL MUST MAINTAIN COHESION AGAINST COMMON ENEMY, THE LARGE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

C. PSP IS COMPOSED OF THREE BASIC CURRENTS: SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS (WHO SPRING FROM FIRST REPUBLIC AND SUPPORTED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY OF GENERAL DELGADO), MARXISTS, AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISTS. SOARES IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS BELONGING TO MARXIST COMPONENT. SOARES ALSO USED OCCASION TO REVIVIFY GHOST OF HUMBERTO DELGADO, ANNOUNCING THAT GENERAL'S REMAINS TO BE RETURNED TO PORTUGAL AND THAT TWO OF ALLEGED ASSASSINS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. AS FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT, SOARES STATED THAT OTHER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST FIGURES, NOTABLY WILLY BRANDT, ALSO WILL BE COMING TO PORTUGAL.

4. THIRD DAY (JULY 4) WAS DEVOTED TO TWO MORE RALLIES, AN AFTERNOON ONE IN COIMBRA AND A MASSIVE EVENING GATHERING IN LISBON. ONLY NEW ELEMENT EMERGING FROM COIMBRA APPEARANCE WAS MITTERAND COMMENT TO SEculo JOURNALIST (MORNING LISBON DAILY) THAT "FRENCH DEMOCRATIC FORCES" ARE GOING TO ASK THAT IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN FRANCE BE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE. (AFTER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALGERIANS, PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTE LARGEST BLOC IN FRANCE OF FOREIGN WORKERS). DAY'S CLIMAX CAME IN EVENING. SOCIALISTS' FIRST MASS MEETING IN CAPITAL ENJOYED ENTHUSIASTIC TURNOUT VARIOUSLY ESTIMATED AT BETWEEN 1200-2000 (EVIDENTLY DEPENDING, IN PART, ON WHETHER OR NOT THOSE LISTENING OUTSIDE OF HALL ALSO COUNTED). SOARES WARMED UP AUDIENCE BY ANNOUNCING COST OF TRIPS UNDERTAKEN TO PORTUGAL BY FORMER BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT MEDICI AND TO BRITAIN BY FORMER PRIME MINISTER CAETANO (11,600 CONTOS -- APPROX \$464,000)-- EXTRAVAGANCE WITH APPROPRIATE CRIES OF OUTRAGE. TURNING TO MORE TIMELY MATTERS, SOARES ANNOUNCED THAT SECRET NEGOTIATIONS NOW GOING ON WITH LIBERATION GROUPS. PROGRESS IS BEING MADE, BUT PRECIPITATE ADVANCES SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED. SOARES REPEATED HIS

CONVICTION THAT TO BE SEATED, NEGOTIATING WITH THE LIBERATION GROUPS WHILE FIGHTING CONTINUED IS IMMORAL; HE NOTED THAT NO FURTHER FIGHTING HAS OCCURRED IN GUINEA SINCE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PAIGC BEGAN IN DAKAR. AUDIENCE'S MOST RAPT ATTENTION GIVEN, HOWEVER, TO SOARES' COMMENTS CONCERNING JAILING OF FAR LEFTIST ACTIVIST SALDANHA SANCHES. (SEE LISBON 2447). SOARES AFFIRMED HIS PERSONAL REGRET AT NECESSITY OF ARREST, NOTING THAT HE HAD PROVIDED LEGAL DEFENSE FOR SALDANHA SANCHES "WHEN MANY OTHERS DID NOT HAVE THE SAME COURAGE", BUT THAT OPEN APPEALS FOR DESERTION BY SOLDIERS IN THE FIELD COULD NOT BE TOLERATED. MITTERAND WAS FINAL ORATOR AND RECIPIENT OF LOUDEST, MOST SUSTAINED APPLAUSE.

5. FINAL BALANCE: MITTERAND OFFERED TWO SPECIFIC "AIDS" TO CAUSE OF PORTUGAL AND PSP. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS HE STATED THAT FRENCH SOCIALISTS ARE NOW ENCOURAGING FRENCH WORKERS TO TAKE THEIR VACATIONS IN PORTUGAL; AND THAT, AS OF SEPTEMBER, BETWEEN TEN AND THIRTY GROUPS OF PARTY TECHNICIANS WILL COME TO PORTUGAL TO ASSIST PSP IN ORGANIZING ITSELF FOR ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. HIS MAJOR CONTRIBUTION, HOWEVER, CLEARLY WAS TO PROVIDE PSP WITH BADLY NEEDED RALLYING POINT AROUND WHICH ALL TENDENCIES IN PARTY (AND POTENTIAL SYMPATHIZERS ON OUTSIDE) COULD UNITE. AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CANDIDATE OF FRENCH UNITED LEFT, MITTERAND IMPREGNABLE TO POTENTIAL ATTACKS FROM PCP AND OTHER ELEMENTS FARTHER TO LEFT. AT SAME TIME, MITTERAND CLEARLY DEVOTED HIS PRESENCE TO SOLE SUPPORT OF PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS. WITHOUT DISASSOCIATING HIMSELF FROM CAUSE OF FRENCH "COMMON PROGRAM", MITTERAND LEFT CLEAR THE WAY FOR SOARES TO POINT TO HIS REMARKS AS ENDORSEMENT OF PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS' NEED TO TRAVEL SEPARATE ROAD IN PREPARING FOR FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. WHAT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, IS WHETHER PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS CAN TURN TEMPORARY EMOTIONAL BOAST INTO LONG-TERM ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT TO PREPARE PARTY FOR CONTEST IN WHICH PCP ENJOYS POSSIBLY UNMATCHABLE ORGANIZATIONAL SUPERIORITY. SCOTT

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